Walpole by Park vol. 4. p. 36.

Ld. Haversham's Speech

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IN THE

Committee of the whole House of Peers.

My Lord Herbert,

I Was so Unfortunate as not to be in the House, when your Order was moved, but thought it my Duty to pay attendance *upon so extraordinary an Occasion*: I know it is generally looked upon as a Mark of great Weakness and Imprudence, *to attempt Impossibilities*; That Man would scarce be thought in his Right Senses, that should endeavour *to stop the Tide at* Graves-end *with his Thumb*, and not rather suffer it to take its own Course, as knowing that it will as surely have its Ebb as its Flux; but yet there are some Cases wherein the universal Practice of Mankind shews the Mistake of this Maxim; who is there, that seeing his Parent languishing, and in an irrecoverable Consumption, would not think it his Duty to give him all the Assistance in his Power, though he was morally certain all his Endeavours would prove ineffectual, and the fatal Hour was just approaching; nay, does not every Man endeavour to preserve his own Life; *while at the same time, he know that Death it self is most unavoidable.*

This I take to be much the present Case of England (I ask your Lordships Pardon, that I have not yet forgot *that beloved Name*) I mean *Britain. Our Condition is very low and desperate*, and yet I think my self obliged to do all I can *towards the helping a poor sinking Island*, tho' I am convinced at the same time it will prove very insignificant.

My Lord, The Two Things you have now under your Consideration, *your Fleet and your Trade*, have so near a Relation, and such mutual Influence upon each other, they cannot well be separated: Your *Trade* is the Mother and Nurse of your Seamen, *your Seamen* are the Life of your Fleet, and *your Fleet* is the Security and Protection of your *Trade*, and both together are the Wealth, Strength, Security and Glory of *Britain*. And this is so manifest, that those who have writ upon these Subjects, whether Foreigners or among our Selves have all owned it, which makes it astonishing that a thing so Clear, and Evident, and wherein our Intrest and Safety does so much consist, *should be Post-poned to any Foreign Consideration whatsoever*, wherein we are less concerned; but we are so Unhappy as to struggle with so many complicated Difficulties, *that what is proper for one thing, is prejudicial to another.*

My Lord, I must make the same Apology for my self, as that Noble Lord did who first began this Debate, tho' I may speak very plainly, it is with a very honest Intention of Service, and a very real Sence of our great Losses and Misfortunes; his Lordship has Spoke so very well, and so fully too to these Points, that whatever I can say upon the same Subjects Will, after what has been said by him, come from me with a very ill Grace, yet give me leave my Lord to speak a Word or Two.

Your Disasters at Sea, have been so many, a Man scarce knows where to begin, *your Ships have been taken by your Enemies, as the* Dutch *take your Herrings by Shoals upon your own Coasts*, nay your *Royal Navy*, it self has not escaped, and there are *pregnant Misfortunes*, and big with *innumerable Mischiefs, your Merchants are beggared, your Commerce is broke, your Trade it gone, your Staple and Manufacture ruind, the Queen has lost her Customs, and the Parliament must make good the Deficiencies, while in the mean time our Allies have an open and flourishing Trade, and our Enemies make use both of our Ships and Season too against us*: There is yet a further Grievance, when thro' a Thousand Difficulties and Dangers, the honest Traper has brought Home some small Effects, he is fallen upon and oppressed by vexations and unjust Prosecutions; *I mention'd this with relation to the Union*, and to shew *that though I was always against it, yet since it is made I am for keeping firm and exactly to it.*

My Lord, the *Face* of our *Affairs is visibly changed* in the space of *one Years* time, and the *Temper of the Nation too*, Men stifled their Misfortunes and were afraid of whispering them out for fear of being *overheard and undone*, now it hard *to stop their Mouths, to keep them within any Bound*; the moving *Objects of Sorrow we meet with every where, the Tears of the Fatherless and Cries of the Widows, have raised both a Compassion for the distressed* and a *Resentment and Indignation against the Authors of these Misfortunes*; and the very *Fames* which of late have flew abroad *no Body knows from whence*, and *Papers* which have been cried in your Streets are all Marks of the *great Ferment* the Nation is in.

My Lord, you are now upon the Enquiry by *what Ways and Persons we have been brought into this miserable Condition*; I think it very indifferent which way you proceed, it seems reasonable that those Lords who moved this Order, should put it into what Method they please, but I must take leave to say that begin where you will, if you do not *End with the Ministry*, we shall be in a *worse Condition* in my Opinion than we were before.

As to the *Admiralty*, if the *Prince's Council* have committed any Fault, it is very fit they should have what they deserve, but I hope *no Persuasion will prevail with the Prince himself to lay down that Commission*; the Navy I think is *safer in his Hands than in any other Man's Hands whatsoever*, and I'll give your Lordship my Reason for it; he has Advantages no other Person can pretend to, He *owes not his Commission to the Favour of any great Minister whatsoever*, nor is he within *the Reach of their Power*, he stands upon a much more unshaken and firm Foundation, and if there be any Mistake, it is impossible to be the Effect either of the *Fear* of the *Anger* of a *great Minister*, or a *care to please him.*

My Lord, I take the *Root of all our Misfortunes to lie in the Ministry*, and without a *Change of Ministry* in my Opinion, no other *Remedy* will be *effectual*. I may perhaps be told by some Lord, that *I arraign the Ministry*: I know that is not proper here, yet every Lord has Liberty of speaking his Thoughts free; and taking notice of any thing he thinks a Grievance to the Nation; and it is under this Notion of Complaint, and from a Sense of *our Condition*; that I say this to your Lordship, and if I were not confident, I stand upon sure Ground, I should not venture thus far, but I have my Justification in my Hand. And now my Lord, it is fit I should prove what I say,

Should I mention the *Breach* of the first, fourth and last Article of *the Union*, I am within your Oder, and those Lords who *Serve* at present, for the *North Part of* Britain, I am Confident have heard of a *Complaint and Address of the Royal Burroughs*, and I might remember the *Disappointments we have met with in* Spain, but I hope those two Points will be some time or other considered. I'll therefore keep my self for Proof strictly to your Petition, and I think nothing is more evident than *that your Ministry has been the Cause of these Misfortunes*; and the Argument which convinces me of it, is drawn from *an Address of your Lordships in Seventeen Hundred and Four*, which I have in my Hand; I know before whom I speak. The *Queen* is a Princess of that consummate Wisdom, as not to do any thing without the *Advice of her Ministry*, your Lordships did then *most humbly Advise and Address Her Majesty, that particular Care might be taken of these Two Points*, none but *Those* that *have Her Majesties Ear* could *prevail to the contrary, and the want of following your Lordships Advice has lost the Nation near* Ten Millions *since*; and therefore it evidently follows, that *your Ministry* have been the Occasion of these Losses.

In short, My Lord, for I'll trouble you no further, let our *Misfortunes be Skinned over as they will*, if they fester and trob, and are foul at bottom, they will certainly *break out with incurable Rage and Fury.*

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